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12 OCTOBER 1988



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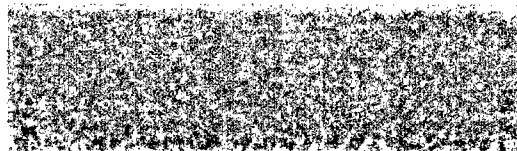
# ***JPRS Report***

# **Arms Control**

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# Arms Control

JPRS-TAC-88-038

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12 OCTOBER 1988

[ERRATUM: On the "CONTENTS" page of the report JPRS-TAC-88-036 dated 3 October 1988 the subdivision CZECHOSLOVAKIA should appear before the 2 articles entitled "Observers To Attend...(p2)" and the division SOVIET UNION should appear before the article entitled "TASS on Conventional Arms...(p2)"]

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**'Nerve Center' of China's Strategic Missile Force**  
*HK0510065188 Beijing LIAOWANG in Chinese*  
*No 39, 26 Sep 88 p 23*

[Article by Sun Jianguo (1327 1696 0948) and Song Dongyun (1345 0392 8502): "The 'Nerve Center' of the Strategic Missile Force"]

[Text] Our country's strategic missile force has increasingly attracted people's attention but few know about the General Communication Station of the 2d Artillery Corps, dubbed the "nerve center" of the strategic missile force.

One day in May 1968, on orders from the party Central Committee and the Central Military Commission, a group of military personnel assembled in an institution of higher learning on the outskirts of Beijing, which had been closed down, and made preparations for the construction of the General Communication Station of the 2d Artillery Corps. At that time, the unit was economically poor and culturally blank, as one may say. They started baking bricks themselves to build houses and dug meter after meter of earth using picks and spades to lay electric cables. The communication support system of the advanced missile force was equipped only with several Soviet-made transceiver cars, transmitters, and manual telephone exchanges. The force has now developed into a modern, well-equipped communication support unit complete with comprehensive communication facilities, wire, wireless, and mobiles.

In the grand-scale modern military exercises conducted by the strategic missile force in 1986, the General Communication Station of the 2d Artillery Corps undertook the communication support task.

On the white walls of the command post there were strategic situation charts, illustrated instructions for exercise troop deployment and fire control demonstrations and a large screen displaying the factual conditions of a launching site. Mini computers in the post displayed different data. Senior officers' combat orders were sent out from the silver grey control desk.

In the carrier machine room, the whole fuselage of a row of newly installed machines was curved up into a rectangle by a row of "black-soybean-like" indicator lamps, through which all operator, facsimile, and telex lines ran to reach the command terminal. Here everything went smoothly.

In the wireless machine room, electronic jamming and antijamming was under way. Faced with powerful electronic jamming, operators attentively pressed telex keyboards and staved off electronic jamming using such methods as rapidly changing frequencies, receiving messages by forcefully confronting jamming, making feints in many ways, and carrying out single-party operations,

thus ensuring the delivery of various radio communication messages both in quality and quantity. Some signals were sent out simultaneously to several directions taking just 40 seconds.

The current military exercises were a comprehensive review of the actual strength of the General Communication Station of the 2d Artillery Corps. In the last 2 decades, the station has successfully completed communication tasks in several military exercises and missile-launching experiments, thus providing the strategic missile force with powerful communications support. The building of a modern communication support force calls for highly specialized technical personnel. Ninety percent of the commanders of the communication force are turned out by vocational and technical colleges and schools of various types and colleges and schools for commanders. In the last 20 years, the General Communication Station of the 2d Artillery Corps has trained several thousands technical personnel and scored more than 20 achievements in technological innovation.

Since the beginning of this year, to accelerate army modernization, the General Communication Station of the 2d Artillery Corps conducted bold reforms in troop management, introduced a goal responsibility management mechanism, and managed its departments on a scientific and regular basis. All office sections and battalions and companies of the station have filled in goal responsibility cards and cadres and fighters have written goal responsibility pledges. To avoid the work becoming a mere formality, last May they set up a goal responsibility management leading group to carry out routine checks and assessments among the station's offices, battalion, and companies and cadres and fighters as well. "Establish a nerve center to ensure the command is free from impediments" has become the motto of the officers and fighters of the General Communication Station of the 2d Artillery Corps in their work. Today, as reform and opening up to the outside world are continuously deepening, the station is moving to the goal of modernizing communications technology along with the pace of our army's modernization program.

**'Roundup' Views UN Discussion on Disarmament**  
*OW0610192988 Beijing XINHUA in English*  
*1840 GMT 6 Oct 88*

["Round-up: U.N. Assembly Discusses Disarmament Issues (by Wang Xianpeng)"]—XINHUA headline]

[Text] United Nations, October 6 (XINHUA)—Disarmament is an issue that is very much on the minds of the delegations to the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly. While noting the progress made thus far, they point out that the world still has a long way to go toward a genuine and complete disarmament.

Most speakers welcomed the INF treaty signed last December between the United States and the Soviet Union eliminating their intermediate and shorter range missiles. They agree this is a step forward.

Robert G. Mugabe, president of Zimbabwe and chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, expressed the sentiments of many when he said the treaty only affected 4 percent of the superpowers' nuclear arsenals, while "the remaining 96 percent, constantly being modernized and made more accurate, lethal and usable, are still with us."

Costa Rican Foreign Minister Rodrigo Madrigal Nieto alerted the assembly to the fact that the world spends more than 136 billion U.S. dollars on arms in any 12-hour period, while in the same 12 hours, more than 14,000 children die for lack of food or medical care. This, he said, is "a source of shame."

Even though most delegates stressed the importance of disarmament, they offered few concrete proposals. It was the militarily-significant powers that presented some specific ideas in pursuance of their own strategic interests.

U.S. President Ronald Reagan played up the potential for "space-based defensive systems". He told the assembly that recent briefings he received from research departments indicated that "progress towards such systems might be more rapid and less costly than had been thought of at first."

He reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to the Strategic Defense Initiative—his pet project first proposed in March 1983, and his offer to share the benefits of strategic defence with others.

Both the United States and the Soviet Union talked about the danger of proliferation of ballistic missiles. However, observers here note most of the proliferations were the results of the arms sales by these two biggest arms merchants.

Soviet foreign minister further proposed setting up a U.N. register of conventional arms sales and transfers. The Soviet Union, he said, is ready to take part in

developing the parameters of such a register. French President Francois Mitterrand emphasized the priority for reducing conventional armaments which, he said, were equally stockpiled in Europe, but "to the disadvantage of the West."

He hoped the 35 participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe would take up the substance of the negotiations as soon as possible.

France also joined forces with the United States in calling for a conference of the 110 signatories of the 1925 Geneva protocol banning chemical weapons. France is the depository of the accord.

If any state is found using chemical weapons, he proposed, the world community should impose an embargo "on all deliveries of products, technologies and weapons to that state."

France, he said, is ready to submit a draft resolution on halting the proliferation and use of chemical weapons to the current session after consultations with its partners.

On the role of the United Nations in disarmament efforts and multilateral negotiations, more consensus seems emerging. The United States, which previously tried to play down the U.N. role, acknowledged for the first time that the world organization has a "vital role" to play.

President Reagan noted in his speech that in most of the disarmament areas, there was not only progress but also the potential for an increasingly vital role for multilateral efforts and institutions like the United Nations.

This represents a shift of position by the United States. It was because of the rigid positions of the United States and some other countries on these questions that the third special session on disarmament held last June failed to achieve any specific results.

Many delegates expressed optimism that the current session could give fresh impetus to bilateral as well as multilateral disarmament negotiations. They hope the current session can adopt some of the measures already agreed upon at the special session.

## INTRABLOC

### GDR Border Troop Delegation Ends Bulgarian Visit

AU2309085988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND  
in German 22 Sep 88 p 5

[Text] Sofia—A delegation of GDR border troops headed by Lieutenant General Klaus-Dieter Baumgarten, deputy minister for national defense, concluded a several-day visit to Bulgaria on Wednesday [21 September]. The delegation had been invited by the chief of the Bulgarian border guards, Lt Gen Stefan Tsanov. During their stay, the delegation visited units and staffs of the Bulgarian border guards.

### Romanian-Soviet Colloquium on Disarmament Held

AU2309165988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English  
1637 GMT 23 Sep 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 23/9/1988—A Romanian-Soviet colloquium on various aspects of the disarmament issue took place in Bucharest, sponsored by the Romanian Association for International Law and International Relations. It covered the reduction of the strategic weapons and the non-militarization of outer space, the reduction of the armed forces and conventional weapons, the military balance and the question of military doctrines, the banning of nuclear weapon tests and the establishment of denuclearized zones, the freezing and reduction of military expenditures.

The participants included representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, researchers, university teaching staff, journalists.

### Polish Military Delegation Visits GDR

AU2609180088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND  
in German 24-25 Sep 88 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On Friday [23 September], Colonel General Fritz Streletz, deputy minister for national defense and chief of the Main Staff of the National People's Army, on behalf of Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister for national defense, received a delegation of the Polish Army. The delegation was headed by General of Arms Włodzimierz Oliwa, vice minister of national defense and chief of the Quartermaster's Office.

Col Gen Streletz briefed his visitors on the initiatives and results in implementing the class assignment of the 11th SED Congress by the members of the National People's Army during the 1987-88 training year. With their great achievements, the soldiers of the GDR have helped to strengthen socialism and safeguard peace, he emphasized. In the course of the meeting the two sides paid tribute to the close relations of comradeship-in-arms between the two armies. The meeting in the

Defense Ministry was also attended by Lieutenant General Manfred Graetz, deputy minister for national defense and chief of the Rear Services Main Administration.

### Pact Military Council To Meet 'Early October'

LD2609173688 Budapest MTI in English  
1715 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 26 (MTI)—The Military Council of the Warsaw Treaty United Armed Forces is to hold its 38th session in Budapest in early October.

### GDR Defense Minister Arrives, Meets Czechoslovakia's Vaclavik

LD2609193988 East Berlin ADN International Service  
in German 1737 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Prague, 26 Sep 88 ADN—A GDR military delegation led by Army General Heinz Kessler, minister for national defense and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, arrived in Prague today. The delegation was welcomed at Ruzyně Airport by Army Gen Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense and member of the CPCZ Central Committee.

This morning the delegation laid wreaths at the national memorial on Zizkov Hill and at the cemetery in Olsany for Soviet soldiers killed in the liberation of Prague.

This afternoon, the delegations, led by the defense ministers, met for talks. The ministers briefed one another on the implementation of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and the 17th CPCZ Congress and on the tasks for guaranteeing the defense readiness of their countries. They welcomed the change for the better in international relations and also stressed the need for the reliable defense of socialism and peace. Both ministers praised the high level of friendship and cooperation between the GDR's National People's Army and the Czechoslovak People's Army, which has existed for over 30 years in all spheres of military life. The program for cooperation between the GDR and the CSSR up to the year 2000 constitutes a solid base for the further expansion of collaboration between the two Defense Ministries. The ministers also reaffirmed the determination to meet their obligations consistently in the future in the alliance of the Warsaw Pact states.

This evening the CSSR minister of national defense gave a dinner in honor of the delegation.

### Further on GDR Defense Minister's Visit to Czechoslovakia

#### Meets With Herman at Academy

LD2809084088 Prague Domestic Service in Czech  
1130 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR minister for defense, visited the Antonin Zapotocky Military Academy in Brno today. The guest was welcomed by Vladimir

Herman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chief secretary of the South Moravian regional party committee. Heinz Kessler was briefed about the history of the academy, which trains commanding officer-specialist personnel for the requirements of the Czechoslovak People's Army. In conversations with undergraduates, he also enquired about their study results and how the latest findings of science and technology were used in their studies.

#### **Received by Husak**

*LD2909135288 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak  
1300 GMT 29 Sep 88*

[Text] Today Gustav Husak, president of the Republic, received in Prague Castle a delegation of the GDR National People's Army led by Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister for national defense.

In the course of their conversation the two statesmen agreed with satisfaction that the mutual relations have reached a high standard and are developing successfully in all spheres for the benefit of the peoples of both countries. They also valued the cohesion and cooperation of the fraternal armies and examined topical questions of their further growth.

President of the Republic Gustav Husak presented the Order of the Red Banner to Army Gen Heinz Kessler, Colonel General Horst Bruenner, Horst Sterchbarth, and Wolfgang Reinhold, DDR deputy ministers for defense; and other members of the delegation were awarded Orders of the Red Star. These high Czechoslovak honors have been awarded to them in recognition of contributions to the deepening of the internationalists ties between the GDR National People's Army and the Czechoslovak People's Army.

Army Gen Heinz Kessler thanked the CPCZ Central Committee, the government, and the president of the Republic for the honor accorded him and the other members of the delegation as demonstrated by the award of the high Czechoslovak medals.

In the course of the final talks between Heinz Kessler and Army Gen Milan Vaclavik, the minister for national defense, views were exchanged on questions concerning the further development and strengthening of the alliance of friendship and cooperation between members of the two armies. They stressed that the fulfillment of tasks in the socioeconomic sphere is and will continue to be influenced by an international political situation which remains complex and full of contradictions. They noted that while there are no firm guarantees that the process of disarmament is permanent and irreversible, it is the duty of our countries and the entire socialist community to continue strengthening their defensive capability.

#### **Talks With Jakes; Departs**

*LD2909201488 East Berlin ADN International Service  
in German 1517 GMT 29 Sep 88*

[Text] Prague, 29 Sep (ADN)—Milos Jakes, CPCZ general secretary, received Army General Heinz Kessler, GDR minister for national defense and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, today in Prague. Heinz Kessler conveyed most cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, which were reciprocated equally cordially. He briefed the CPCZ Central Committee general secretary on the implementation of the 11th SED Congress decisions, the realization by the GDR of the Warsaw Pact states' military doctrine, and the close cooperation between the GDR National People's Army and the Czechoslovak People's Army.

Milos Jakes stressed the significance of the visit to the CSSR by the GDR military delegation, which is an expression of the firm friendship between the GDR and the CSSR and their armies at a time of changed conditions for the further building of socialism and the struggle for new disarmament measures. His comments made plain the CPCZ's manifold efforts for the further improvement of the forms and methods of socialist construction, for the continuation of the struggle for further disarmament, and for the consolidation of friendship between the two parties and countries and the entire socialist community of states. He stressed that in view of the continuing complicated international military-political situation, an appropriate defense capability of the armies of the socialist community of states is necessary.

Gen Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, and Helmut Ziebart, GDR ambassador to the CSSR, were present at the meeting. Afterwards, Gen Heinz Kessler and the members of the military delegation were decorated with CSSR medals by CSSR President Gustav Husak. In warmhearted talks, great emphasis was placed on the long-standing fighting traditions of the workers' movements of both friendly peoples and their armies, as well as the significance of further cooperation of the closest kind for the successful structuring of the developed socialist society and the safeguarding of peace. On the same day, the GDR military delegation headed by Minister for Defense Gen Heinz Kessler ended its [words indistinct] visit. At Ruzyně airport Gen Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, and other generals of the Czechoslovak People's Army warmly bade them farewell.

Previously, the delegations, headed by their respective defense ministers, had met for concluding talks. They assessed the visit as having been exceptionally fruitful and an important contribution to even more intensive cooperation between the two armies at all levels of political and military activity.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### CSSR Observes Swiss 'Rotondo' Exercises 27 Sep Under CDE Accord

LD2609193888 Prague CTK in English  
1827 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 26 (CTK)—Joint exercises of the Swiss Armed Forces "Rotondo" started on the country's territory on September 21 and will last till September 29, Switzerland has announced.

In accord with the document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures, Security and Disarmament in Europe Czechoslovak experts will attend the exercises as observers on September 27-30.

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### Kessler Wishes To Meet FRG Defense Minister

LD2809183488 East Berlin ADN International Service  
in German 1614 Gmt 28 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin 28 Sep (ADN)—The Minister for National Defense of the GDR, Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the Politburo of the SED spoke on questions of European security, on relations between the two German states, their armed forces and defense ministries, on the military policy of the GDR and its role in the Warsaw Pact, in an interview for the Hamburg weekly DIE ZEIT.

In a talk with the chief editor, Dr Theo Sommer, and the ZEIT correspondent accredited in the GDR, Marlis Menge, Army General Heinz Kessler stressed his great interest in meeting with Professor Rupert Scholz, federal minister for defense of the FRG, within the framework of continuing the dialogue between the states and the alliance systems. Heinz Kessler stated that there is almost no area any more in which public figures of the Federal Republic and the GDR do not meet. "I said to myself: Why shouldn't we do that in fact? Cards on the table and begin." To date, however, there have been no invitations for talks from Bonn.

The GDR defense minister stated that there could be talks on the military doctrines of both sides in light of the readiness stated by both sides to do everything so that war would never again emanate from German soil. An exchange of thoughts on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe, particularly central Europe, would also be possible. "I will readily explain our proposals on the creation of a chemical weapons-free zone, a nuclear weapons-free corridor and a zone of trust and security in central Europe."

Referring to the interest of both German states in disarmament, the advantage, which specifically the people in both German states would gain, is plain to see. They would be the first victims, the main sufferers, in the case of any military conflict, however it arose. Heinz

Kessler said, "For this reason we are of the opinion that precisely the two German states can and should do more than any other state so the danger of military conflicts is reduced step by step on the dividing line of the two alliances, and so the awareness of common security interests increases."

## HUNGARY

### Foreign Affairs Official on Soviet Withdrawal

LD2709092688 Budapest MTI in English  
0745 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 27 (MTI)—Tuesday's "MAGYAR HIRLAP" carries a full-page interview with Csaba Tabajdi, deputy head of the Foreign Affairs Department of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party, on security policy issues. Here follows the part of the interview dealing with the withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary.

[Question] Is the presence of Soviet troops necessary to guarantee our territorial integrity? Can our security be guaranteed solely with international means?

[Answer] "Taking our geo-strategical situation into consideration, namely that we have no common borders with NATO member states, and that Austria and Yugoslavia present a characteristic 'security safety zone', it is my conviction that we are capable of driving back a possible aggression, and of defending our land frontiers with our national forces. However, to defend our air space, we need the unified air defence system of the Warsaw treaty, within this the direct participation of the Soviet Air Force. Thus, alongside the current European power relations, the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary is not a fundamental condition of our external and internal security. Upholding or changing the current situation primarily depends on the resolution of the two parties, with the condition that the probable result not fundamentally change the power relation between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. The withdrawal of Soviet troops is not a bilateral matter from the aspect that this has effects on the outcome of the arms restriction and disarmament talks. Certain Western experts argue whether this has particular importance for us or not. In our view, as our country is situated on the outskirts of the main battle arena, the Soviet presence is secondary in this area. However, from our point of view, even a partial withdrawal of troops would be of primary significance. Mainly because it would be met with an extremely favourable home political and international reaction, and would have a confidence-building effect. It would increase confidence towards, and respect for the Hungarian leadership both within and outside our borders, and would strengthen our internal bearing, our sense of national responsibility. Among the important consequences of the measure would be that it would intensify Hungarian-Soviet friendship, rather than weaken it."

[Question] Does a possible withdrawal of Soviet troops have any realistic basis?

[Answer] "This question has come up several times in the past period, in various contexts. I believe that a total withdrawal does not seem a realistic political goal in the medium-range, but there are chances for a partial troop withdrawal if the all-European processes and the internal relations of the two countries develop favourably and in an unbroken manner. Such a partial withdrawal would also considerably increase the international respect and trustworthiness of the Soviet leadership as General Secretary Gorbachev himself said: We do not wish to station Soviet troops abroad forever. After Afghanistan, this would be a good example that armed forces can be withdrawn not only from crisis zones, and this would set a precedent for the states of the world. Naturally, alongside the just Hungarian interests, the just interests of the Soviet Union also have to be kept in mind. We most of all have to guarantee the status quo, to guarantee and safeguard the alliance obligations. It is, however, my conviction that there are no irresolvable differences between the two."

[Question] Is it true that the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary is a major economic burden for us?

[Answer] "I can definitely say this is not true. Views of this kind originate from lacking information. Amidst the tense international relations of the 1950s, which were fraught with another world war, the stationing of Soviet troops in Hungary relieved our country exhausted in the Second World War from major defence expenditures. We now have to again examine the additional loads that a possible Soviet troop withdrawal would pose, and to what extent this would increase our defence expenditures. International experiences also warn us of this. One thing is certain: Our Army has sufficient strength to defend our land frontiers. However, the unified air defence system of the Warsaw Treaty, the allied cooperation of the Soviet Air Force is necessary to guarantee the inviolability of our air space, and we could replace this only with considerable financial sacrifices. It would by no means be favourable for us were further NATO aircrafts stationed in the operational direction", said Csaba Tabajdi.

## POLAND

**Olechowski Praises Nobel Prize for UN Forces**  
*LD3009080788 Warsaw PAP in English*  
0035 GMT 30 Sep 88

[By PAP Correspondent Ludwik Arendt]

[Text] New York, Sept. 29—Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Tadeusz Olechowski commenting on the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to U.N. peace-keeping forces told PAP that the award expressed recognition for

the extremely important activity of the United Nations in averting and putting out local conflicts. This activity on the part of the U.N. has a prime importance in maintaining world peace.

"I am glad that Polish soldiers were part of the peace-keeping forces in the past dozen or so years. Thus the prize was also awarded to them. With dignity and self-sacrifice these soldiers fulfil their peace mission, reflecting Poland's engagement in assuring security for the world on the road of political solutions," said Minister Olechowski.

## ROMANIA

**Third National Congress of Chemistry Makes Disarmament Appeal**

*AU2409173288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English*  
1618 GMT 24 Sep 88

["Appeal Addressed by the Participants in the Third National Congress of Chemistry of Romania to All Chemical Engineers and Scientists the World Over"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 24/9/1988—The Third National Congress of Chemistry, held in Bucharest on September 21-24, 1988—attended by men of science, researchers, teaching staff of higher schools, experts of chemical combines and enterprises—in full unity with the whole Romanian people, reiterate on this occasion as well their full adhesion to the fully humanist home and foreign policy promoted by Romania, to the initiatives and actions of great reverberation of the country's president, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, firmly convinced that the fulfilment of Romania's socioeconomic development plans and programmes—just as, in fact, those of all countries and peoples—can be ensured only in conditions of peace and security, in a climate of confidence, of broad international collaboration and cooperation.

Giving expression to the will of peace, understanding and collaboration, powerfully affirmed during the congress, the scientists in Romania and in the other countries participant in the congress, address a rousing appeal to researchers and scientists all over the world, to concert their efforts, to strengthen still more their collaboration and intensify their actions in the current, very grave and complex international circumstances, so as to make an ever more active contribution, together with their peoples, to the powerful assertion of the policy of peace and understanding among nations, to the cause of progress and civilization, of improved material and spiritual welfare of all nations of the world.

Under the current circumstances, when tremendous arsenals of nuclear and mass destruction weapons have been amassed all over the world, when nuclear tests continue and suchlike weapons are being sophisticated, as well as chemical and other mass destruction weapons, nothing can be more important than the concerting of



the efforts of all peoples, of the realistically-minded, advanced forces all over the world for the halting of the dangerous course of events towards tension and war, for a resolute switch to concrete measures of disarmament, nuclear above all, for the defence of the fundamental right of every people, of every inhabitant of our planet, to peace, to life, to free and dignified existence.

This is the supreme imperative of our epoch, on behalf of which we, the scientists, researchers and specialists in the field of chemistry, call on all the servants of science to work tightly united and do everything in order to contribute to the cause of peace and disarmament, militating consistently for placing the great gains of chemistry, of science and technology in general, only in the service of a peaceful development of all the nations, of the economic and social progress of the human society.

Let us spare no effort in order to help the forces of peace and progress—in their ranks scientists holding an important place—to have the last word in the progress of the international life, to bar the continuation of the arms race, to ensure the total elimination of the nuclear and chemical weapons from Europe and from the entire planet.

We ardently call on all those working in the field of chemistry to oppose firmly the improvement and production of chemical weapons, not to allow the use of the great achievements of science for the creation new mass-destruction means. We all share a great responsibility in making sure that chemistry is only given peaceful uses, that the results of our research in this field is used exclusively for the benefit of what is good and for the prosperity of all the peoples.

Today, chemistry has the capacity to participate, by the side of the other sciences, in the higher capitalization of the natural resources, in enhancing land fertility, in creating new means to benefit the people's health, as well as new materials needed by the other domains of technological progress. We must strengthen the collaboration in this domain and in all the scientific domains, and make the huge potential of science and technology serve the economic and social development of the nations, find solutions to the grave questions of underdevelopment and eradicate the great economic gaps between the states, preserve and safeguard the environment, help the progress of all mankind.

In light of the principles guiding consistently Romania's foreign-policy actions and initiatives, the Romanian researchers and scientists reassert their firm resolve to collaborate more and more tightly with scientists everywhere for the progress and the thriving of science and for enhancing its role in the peoples' economic and social life, and at the same time, for the promotion of a new, democratic policy, for the triumph of reason, of peace and collaboration among all the nations in the world.

Nowadays science and peace are inseparable.

Let us make these fundamental values of our epoch inspire us permanently in the joint struggle for a luminous future in which all the people, by working in full security and peace, may enhance incessantly their contribution to the welfare and and progress of mankind, to the universal wealth of knowledge.

Let us work in such a way that, through the joint struggle of the peoples, the policy of disarmament, security and collaboration, peace—the most valuable asset of mankind—may triumph.

**FRG's Vogel Writes in Soviet Journal on SPD Arms Philosophy**

18160011z Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I  
MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian  
No 7, Jul 88 pp 33-39

[Article by H-J. Vogel, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany: "The Foreign Policy Philosophy of the SPD"; Dr H-J Vogel presented this article on 13 May as a report in the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economics and International Relations]

[Excerpts]

**I**

Since my last visit to Moscow in 1984 a profound process of renewal and transformation has started in the Soviet Union, and the Russian word "perestroyka" has been added to the German language to describe this process.

My party and many people in the FRG are following this process with great interest and sympathy. We wish success in this policy because it moves to the advantage of people in the Soviet Union. At the same time we are convinced that its success will also be in our interests and even the interests of Europe and of all peoples.

The policy of perestroyka is being combined with the aspiration for "glasnost." This policy also talks of "democratization." With regard to its foreign policy aspect it is promoting a deeper recognition of the interdependence of East and West and of the industrial countries and the developing countries, and also of the interdependence of all mankind as such.

This policy has led to a situation in which the Soviet Union has agreed to comprehensive measures measures of verification and monitoring within the framework of disarmament agreements, and also to a more positive assessment by the Soviet Union of the fundamental interests and goals of the small and medium-sized states in Europe.

Whoever recognizes the global nature of many problems and who talks about the tasks facing mankind must try to resolve them through cooperation and peaceful settlement of conflict situations. Our common home that is Europe can become comfortable for all of us only when respect is given to the diversity of all its inhabitants in the field of culture, politics and economics, and when the staircases and corridors of that home are open to all those living in it.

Europe needs a new form of pluralism and tolerance. The latter is based not on indifference or apathy but on loyalty to one's own principles—the same loyalty that rejects dogmatism and the habit of using the stereotypical "image of the enemy."

In order to build a peaceful future that brings joy to all the peoples and countries of Europe and a desire to live in it, it is necessary to have the opportunity to conduct within each system an open debate about successes and failures and advantages and disadvantages.

Both Stalinism and the political concepts with which the West responded to it were concepts of antagonism, not pluralism. Sociopolitical tolerance was alien to them because at that time it was considered a sign of weakness. In reality, however, tolerance and the sanguinity stemming from it are signs of confidence in oneself, a sign of strength.

Europe must now learn a new, dynamic form of pluralism—after decades of being accustomed to the status quo of antagonism. Following demolition of the "image of the enemy" and the elimination of antagonisms, peaceful competition between the systems must begin. We are moving swiftly toward a competition between our systems that would free their internal dynamism from dogmatic paths and provide an opportunity to develop the creative reformist forces within the two societies. It is along this path that we would like to achieve qualitative improvement in both systems by means of reform. This constructive competition is also the goal of the joint document issued by the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] entitled "The Clash of Ideologies and Common Security."

Our "yes" to the principle of interdependence is not the same as agreement with the theories of sociopolitical convergence of the systems. Europe should adopt the pluralism of different systems and learn to use it. This kind of pluralism can become a creative sociopolitical and peace-asserting element of future European constitutional reality. The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation Europe has already formulated important elements of its constitution and future peaceful legal order. The relaxation of tension is the path of reform, leading to realization of this peaceful legal order.

In the sociopolitical aspect also, the dogmatic polemic between the systems needs amendment, giving due consideration to reality as it is.

Relative to the social demands of the workers' movement and in the matter of integrating its achievements into its system, capitalism has shown itself to be much more flexible than was foretold by most of its Marxist critics. On the other hand, socialism in the East European states could with the passage of time prove to be significantly more flexible toward democratization trends than many of the critics of Marxism-Leninism have up to now been suggesting. Meanwhile, there is now not only one variety of real, existing socialism but an increasingly broad spectrum of different forms. The

broad spectrum of different social orders under capitalism corresponds to this—from the military dictatorships on the South American model to the highly developed democracy of the Kingdom of Sweden.

Different sociopolitical goals and competing social systems will also exist within the framework of a broad European peaceful legal order. But the differences and the competition will be combined with common interests that go beyond the confines of the systems. Priority will be given to new issues that the present ideologies are incapable of responding to satisfactorily. The clash of ideologies will not cease but it will be "trumped" by new problems and attempts to resolve them. Antagonism between the systems will not culminate in the triumph of one of them, nor in convergence. But out of the antagonism that has existed up to now there may arise a qualitatively new pluralism between different social systems.

## II

Whoever wants to overcome at some time the division of Europe should already today be building new bridges between East and West. Stability in their relations is not only a means but a goal of policy. It is the prerequisite for peaceful changes. The bridges must be solid, so that they can be crossed without risk. Through their intensity and duration, stable relations might improve the very quality of those relations and promote the elimination from both sides of ideas about mutual threat and the "image of the enemy." A policy that gives due consideration to mutual interests requires maximum cooperation in the political, economic, scientific and technical and cultural spheres and the minimum military potential capable of guaranteeing adequate defense capability. It is precisely here that quantity may become quality.

Until there is a non-coercive peaceful legal order, a peace policy requires a security policy that rests on military strength. The kind of security policy that is oriented on the principles that we have formulated: common responsibility, defensive adequacy, and the inability to attack.

The SPD favors FRG membership in NATO. We believe that this is essential for considerations of military-political stability in Europe. Given the existing military-political conditions in Europe, only the FRG's membership in NATO is capable of guaranteeing for our country an adequate defense capability. As we make our proposals, together with other social democratic parties we are trying to convince NATO in general of the need to move on to the second phase of a policy of detente. We advocate a reform of military doctrines that would preserve an adequate defense capability for the two alliances but would at the same time make them structurally incapable of launching an attack—particularly a surprise attack—and of attacking in depth into enemy territory.

The task for military-political cooperation among the countries of West Europe is to guarantee military stability with less military involvement by the United States. Success in resolving this task can not only improve West Europe's political position vis-a-vis the countries of East Europe and promote its self-assertion vis-a-vis the world's leading powers. In the opinion of the SPD, cooperation between the countries of West Europe should also stimulate a deepening of the all-European policy of detente. Simultaneous cooperation between the countries of West Europe within the EEC and the West European Union on the one hand, and within the framework of the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe, on the other, shows how in foreign policy and in security policy the process of West European unity can be combined with all-European prospects. We welcome the fact that the Soviet Union is displaying to an increasing degree a constructive and positive attitude toward the European alliance. For our part, we are making efforts to insure that these West European institutions also play a more active part in all-European cooperation.

## III

Europe stands on the threshold of nuclear disarmament. Right from the start, without any kind of stipulations or restrictions, the SPD has supported the conclusion of an agreement to eliminate U.S. and Soviet medium-range and short-range land-based missiles, and it has welcomed the signing of this agreement as a triumph of reason that offers a basis for greater hopes since a gap has been breached on a decisive sector of the arms race. When in Washington in March I expressed appreciation to leading figures in the United States and the Soviet Union thanks to whom this agreement was concluded. The appreciation that I express again here also relates to those political forces in both alliances that made efforts to guarantee fair consideration of the interests of both of the sides.

We social democrats are focusing attention primarily on the political and psychological importance of this agreement. Instead of fear we now have hope. For the first time the world powers have reached a mutual understanding that peace becomes more stable thanks not to the increasing stockpiling of weapons but their elimination. And at the same time they have agreed on verification procedures that have no equal in terms of scope and accuracy.

This is only the first step. We do not want to rest on our laurels, and we cannot do so. We favor a spread of the process of nuclear disarmament to missiles with a range of less than 500 kilometers. We advocate just as actively the achievement of success in negotiations to reduce conventional weapons and to impose a total ban on chemical weapons. However, continuation of the process of nuclear disarmament should not be made dependent upon results from future negotiations on reducing the potential of conventional weapons in Europe, on which there is still no agreement on their initiation.

Dialogue and cooperation between the United States and the USSR is of central significance for us social democrats. Only along this road is it possible to achieve success giving due and proper consideration to the interests of East and West, and the progress that we, the Germans, need much more than others in order to achieve a gradual weakening and ultimate elimination of the contradictions dividing our continent. Only in this way is it possible to achieve a situation in which the borders between the alliances and the two German states become permeable. Of late, cooperation has also become possible where up to now there was only confrontation. One example might be the agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Other explosive regions of the world also need similar forms of cooperation. For example, the Persian Gulf region and the Near East, and also Southern Africa.

#### IV

The SPD has long advocated a radical reduction in strategic nuclear arms. We hope that the talks on this issue can soon culminate in the signing of an agreement. We know that there are certain difficulties in attitudes toward verification measures within the framework of such an agreement. We are also aware of the problems connected with military activity in space and its bearing on the ABM Treaty. But we believe that reasonable decisions will be found. The bench mark here should be what President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev agreed during their meeting in November 1985, namely, to make an end to the arms race on Earth and prevent it in space.

#### V

Like the FRG government, the SPD demands the conclusion of an agreement on the total elimination of chemical weapons, this year if possible. If the signing of this agreement is delayed then a first step in this direction could be the concept of creating a chemical-weapon-free zone in Europe, worked out by us during the course of negotiations with the GDR leadership. Within that zone verification measures as discussed in Geneva could be implemented. In any event, we shall repeatedly raise the issue for discussion in our alliance.

#### VI

Achieving stability in conventional weapons, from the Atlantic to the Urals, is now of decisive importance in guaranteeing the peace. A reorganization and reduction of conventional armed forces is essential in order to maintain defense capability at a possibly lower level, making both sides incapable of surprise attack or attack in depth into enemy territory.

Even at the party congress 1986 in Nuremberg we announced the following: "We appeal to the Warsaw Pact countries to make their contribution to joint security. To this end they should first and foremost abandon

their strategy of forward defense. We note that the dispositioning of Soviet short-range missiles in the GDR and Czechoslovakia has increased the threat and that the military significance of this measure is at variance with the Soviet Union's statement on non-first-use of nuclear weapons. The Warsaw Pact countries should also limit defense strategy on the forward borders of their own territory. Their armed forces should relinquish their ability to attack in depth into enemy territory and alter the doctrine according to which defense should be made on West German territory."

We are following with special attention the political debate on security issues being conducted in the Soviet Union and we hear an increasing number of voices supporting such change in the structure of the armed forces. We know that corresponding changes should also be made by NATO. A reduction in the Soviet superiority in tanks would certainly be welcomed—and not just in the FRG—as a practical expression of the new thinking in Soviet security policy.

#### VII

We also insist on a gradual reduction in tactical nuclear weapons in both East and West. Our ultimate goal is to eliminate them totally. We believe that this goal can be reached in combination with progress in guaranteeing stability in conventional arms. The creation of a nuclear-free corridor in line with the proposal drawn up jointly with the GDR leadership and with which the government of Czechoslovakia has associated itself, could be an intermediate step toward the zero option in this field and simultaneously a measure promoting the creation of an atmosphere of trust and detente.

We proceed from the premise that the talks being held in Vienna among the 23 states will be prolonged and complicated, but here too there is cause for hope. The approach that has now been chosen is better than the one used in the talks on mutual reductions of armed forces and arms in Central Europe. It offers an opportunity to include the specific problems of Central Europe in all-European interdependence. Moreover, these talks are aimed at achieving not a numerical balance in armed forces but rather greater stability and reductions in armed forces and arms that could lead to change in the structure of armed forces and options in military decisionmaking.

If all the states that are to take part in the talks on guaranteeing stability in Europe in the field of conventional weapons would publish detailed figures on their own armed forces and their structure, this could help the process of strengthening mutual trust. However, the start of concrete negotiations should not be made dependent upon this or on new debates about the initial figures.

We have spoken out against those in our country who have heaped up in every way possible one obstacle after another on the road to the dual zero option in the field of

medium-range and short-range missiles, suggesting that this will harm our security. Now, after the signing of the INF Treaty, we advocate a third zero option, namely for short-range land-based missile systems (with a range of less than 500 kilometers). Negotiations on this should be initiated as soon as possible. The more nuclear weapons are dismantled, the greater the importance that stability in the field of conventional weapons in Europe will acquire. But we do not want to postpone the further course of the process of nuclear disarmament in Europe until negotiations have been completed on reductions in conventional weapons. We therefore appeal to East and West not to take any steps now to modernize short-range nuclear systems. We would welcome it if the Soviet Union would now unilaterally reduce its superiority in short-range land-based systems.

Even if thanks to this third zero option all remaining U.S. and Soviet land-based systems were sometime in the future removed from Europe (this goal can most probably be reached only if we come closer to total stability in the field of conventional weapons), then it would still not be possible to talk about a Europe free from nuclear weapons. For even in that case both sides would still retain sea-launched and air-launched systems, and moreover the French and British systems would still be retained. Even after a 50-percent reduction in strategic nuclear systems there would still be enough to satisfy those who advocate the retention of a minimum deterrence potential. We are against using the imaginary danger of further nuclear disarmament as a political lever to block resolution of very important tasks in achieving stability in the field of conventional weapons or to slow down progress in questions of nuclear disarmament.

None of this in any way changes the fact that our ultimate goal remains ridding Europe of nuclear weapons.

### VIII

In all these matters it is ultimately a question of something bigger even than just disarmament. It is a question of the following: that thanks to the positive changes

taking place in both world powers, for the first time since the war there has appeared a political chance of moving away from positions whose consequence has been the creation and increasing buildup of the military potential, primarily in Central Europe. During the course of talks between governments, and also conversations between representatives of the working group of the SPD faction in the Bundestag with representatives of the political leadership of your country we want to clarify whether these present proposals can lead to concrete changes, and if so, to what extent? It is our firm conviction that given this we can significantly raise the level of security on our continent and correspondingly reduce the risk for all participating parties, including for the two world powers.

In this connection one final question arises: what steps can be taken jointly by the USSR and the FRG to create a European legal order worthy of the name?

Breakthroughs can and must be made in the disarmament field. However, disarmament must always be considered within the context of security policy and foreign policy. Through disarmament we may today achieve what it was unfortunately not possible to achieve during the first phase of political detente; because the arms race has continued.

### IX

We must proceed from the territorial status quo in Europe since this is a political prerequisite for the preservation of peace. However, on the political plane Europe should not stagnate in the status quo. More intensive East-West cooperation will improve the security of all peoples and create more favorable conditions for greater freedom and social justice. It will make it possible for people to breathe freely and will fill them with hope. And this is the best thing that politics can do.

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## FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

**UK's Defense Minister, Scholz Continue Talks**  
*LD0410104388 Hamburg DPA in German 0955 GMT  
4 Oct 88*

[Excerpt] Bonn (DPA)—The two ministers praised German-British relations. The study group will probably present its results, which are aimed at achieving even better military cooperation and agreement on military procurement, in December. Younger said that Europe's pillars will be strengthened through this. Scholz and Younger emphasized that there would be no special path for the Federal Republic and Great Britain in NATO. Scholz hinted at the possibility of forming a unit together with the British similar to the German-French Brigade.

Scholz and Younger also expressed the hope that negotiations will begin soon on conventional disarmament. Younger demanded worldwide condemnation of chemical weapons. Maintaining NATO's defense capability is of prime importance in view of the unchanged threat and in spite of the East's readiness for dialogue. [passage omitted]

## Further on Defense Cooperation

*AU0510130488 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER  
ALLGEMEINE in German 5 Oct 88 pp 1, 2*

["F.Y." article: "Intended Cooperation Between FRG and British Armed Forces"]

[Excerpt] Bonn, 4 October—After his talks with Younger, Scholz said that this first meeting of the two ministers outside NATO conferences was to enable them to hold intensive talks to an extent that is impossible at the periphery of NATO conferences. The two ministers confirmed that they were in full agreement after their exchange of views on questions of security policy, East-West relations, and NATO's goals for the forthcoming negotiations on disarmament between the Atlantic and the Urals—in other words the negotiation mandate with which NATO intends to approach the Warsaw Pact. Scholz added that the FRG-British alliance is a quiet one, but an extremely close and effective one and that there are no bilateral problems. [passage omitted]

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